

From “Salt” To “Students”: Small-Scale Logging In The Agusan Hinterlands, 1970s To 2010s

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ABSTRACT: This paper traces the transformation of small-scale logging practiced by indigenous Banwaon communities in the hinterlands of Agusan del Sur province, in northeastern Mindanao Island, the Philippines. It outlines the shift from occasional logging for cash in the past, to its later capitalization and resulting intensification. The changes must be seen in articulation with local notions of development, as well as deepening links to pan-regional, and perhaps even international economic systems. Even as the paper takes note of the legal autonomy, and the economic agency and creativity of the Banwaon, it also notes the cultural tensions over identity that small scale logging occasions, and points to the grave environmental costs of their trade. In the process, popular notions about indigenous peoples, their livelihoods, and their attitudes towards the environment are critically re-examined. The paper not only documents indigenous involvement in environmentally destructive livelihoods, which has only been explored relatively recently in the Philippine ethnographic literature, but also underscores the emerging need to address the problem of translating self-determination and indigenous control over ancestral lands and resources into sustainable development. In the case considered here,

the stark economic constraints and choices that many Banwaon face led them to make problematic economic decisions.

Introduction

In 2009, I found myself walking along a forest trail behind a young Banwaon man, conversing with him as he carried a large chainsaw on his shoulder in such a way that it seemed he had a chainsaw for a head. That image of a walking, talking chainsaw struck me as emblematic of the intensity of the Banwaon people's engagement with illegal logging. However, the idea of a member of a remote indigenous community being implicated in a trade widely viewed as ecologically destructive, hence deplorable, is generally surprising for many Filipinos, given how discourses of indigenous people's rights in the country have been strategically linked to the role of protectors of the environment (Li 1996: 506; Utting 2000: 2-3; Walpole et al. 1993: 61, also Gollin and Kho 2008: 1-3).

This paper is my attempt to understand the Banwaon communities' complicity in unregistered, unregulated, and untaxed (hence illegal) small-scale logging, and explore the implications this case poses, particularly for our understanding of local development. To note, while I refer here exclusively to the Banwaon, the illicit logging activities I describe were also practiced (with local variations) by Manobo and Higaonon indigenous communities in neighboring parts of Agusan del Sur province (see Mascarinas 2012d; Damas 2011). I will argue that historically there have been different ways of practicing small scale logging in my study-area; that these different modes reflect shifts in the economic and cultural orientation of the local people; and that the reality of indigenous participation in illicit trades needs to be acknowledged and addressed. I am not saying that all indigenous groups are involved in illegal or ecologically destructive livelihoods, but where such instances

are encountered, researchers need to investigate the case. In its exploration of Banwaon involvement in logging, this paper will be mindful of Bernstein's injunction (2010: 22-23) to consider the questions of "Who owns what?," "Who does what?," "Who gets what?," and "What do they do with it?" in describing livelihoods. To that extent, it responds to Miller's call (1995: 8) for a comparative ethnographic study of capitalism.

In its analysis, I draw on two notions: The first is "conjuncture" (borrowed from Li 2014: 16-18) which calls for attention to how the interplay of economic and material factors, social and political relations, meanings and aspirations, and beliefs and spirits set, over time, the conditions of possibility that govern people's choices (Li 2014: 15). Second is Tsing's concept of "friction" (2005: 5-6), a metaphor that draws attention to "the importance of interaction in defining movement, cultural form, and agency," which contains the possibility of resistance, but is not limited to it. Here, I emphasize friction's sense of "traction" and adapt it to describe the means by which an external economic order finds purchase among an indigenous group in a remote hinterland locality.

The data presented here are drawn from twenty-one months of fieldwork (2008-2010) for my dissertation (on top of twelve previous years working as a lawyer and community organizer in this area) among the Banwaon. The Banwaon are a small group of non-Islamic, traditional swidden agriculturists, living in scattered villages in the still-forested hinterland of the Municipality of San Luis, Agusan del Sur province, in northeastern Mindanao Island. San Luis straddles the Agusan River, which winds its way 110 kilometers northwards to the regional capital on the coast, Butuan City. This paper focuses on logging operations in the watershed of the Laminga River (a tributary of the Agusan River) and excludes those along the Maasam and Adgawan Rivers, which also partly run through San Luis. Compared with other indigenous groups in the Philippines, the Banwaon remain relatively unassimilated politically and

culturally; most of them are wary of the Philippine state and its centralizing agenda (Gatmaytan 2013: 13), and retain autonomy over significant aspects of their lives. Migration into the area is negligible and is not a problem; security in the midst of the continuing militarization of the area and poverty are the crucial issues for them. The Banwaon communities I worked with were affiliated with the Tagdumahan, an inter-village “peoples’ organization” they founded in order to protect their rights as an indigenous people.

While there is a considerable literature on logging in the Philippines, particularly in the wake of environmentalism’s entry into mainstream discourse in the 1980s, much of it has focused on corporate or large-scale logging (see, for example, Ross 2001; Gastra 1999; Kummer 1992). Vitug’s otherwise excellent examination of the political economy of logging (1993, 1998) ignores small-scale logging altogether. Van den Top (2003: 110) gives “carabao logging” in the Sierra Madres considerable attention, but categorically declares that the indigenous groups there were not involved in it. Aquino (2004: 262 et seq.) describes Bugkalot participation in small-scale logging, conducted within the framework of a government-issued Community Based Forest Management Agreement, a context that differs fundamentally from the Banwaon experience. In Mindanao, Hilario (2004: 141 et seq.) documented a Higaonon community’s participation in large-scale logging in Bukidnon, but mentions neither licit nor illicit small-scale logging operations on their part. Wallace (2006: 83-84) acknowledges the participation of indigenous Apayao/Isneg people in small-scale logging in Ilocos Norte, but dismisses it as a matter of “simple greed.” Tessa Minter’s is the one study (2010: 172 et seq.) that stands out for its detailed treatment of Agta involvement in illegal small-scale logging. She found (2010: 181) that, in the context of non-Agta loggers’ unregulated and intensive exploitation of timber resources in the Sierra Madres, many Agta felt compelled to join the illicit trade, reasoning that they at least got something out

of the destruction of the forest. In sum, there are still limited ethnographic studies of indigenous groups' involvement in illicit small-scale logging in the Philippines. This may perhaps be an effect of the tendency to view indigenous groups as protectors of the environment that I noted at the outset, or of a sense that "exposing" the participation of some indigenous communities in illicit or ecologically destructive livelihoods is somehow "politically incorrect." At any rate, this paper may help address this gap in the Philippine literature.

By comparison, the widespread logging that followed the fall of Suharto in Indonesia generated considerable scholarly interest (Tsing 2005; Casson and Obidzinski 2007; Smith et al. 2007; McCarthy 2007; Wadley 2005; Wadley and Eilenberg 2005; Doolittle 2005), with writers exploring various levels of community involvement in forest destruction across the country. Bryant and Bailey (1997: 169) sum up this literature by observing that, as a result of the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis and the post-Suharto political turmoil that followed, the Indonesian political centre lost control of its peripheries, allowing unrestricted competition for, and exploitation of timber resources. In their view, local communities were compelled to join in the unregulated logging of this period, as they sought to make the most of emerging patterns of resource exploitation they felt powerless to stop anyway. We shall return to this observation later in this paper.

Older Modes of Logging

The Banwaon first encountered logging in the late 1950s or early 1960s, when strong demand for timber in post-War reconstruction and development, particularly in Japan and Taiwan (Repetto 1988: 59-60; also Hurst 1990: 186-189, Van den Top 2003: 49) stimulated the domestic logging industry. All my respondents recall that the first logging company to

enter Banwaon territory approached their three most respected elders at that time and sought their permission to conduct operations in the area. All three elders consented, reportedly in consideration of a monthly payment they each received and other benefits. My informants all asserted that the Banwaon offered no resistance to logging, which could be an index of the respect accorded to the three elders; the naïve view that the forest was so vast as to be inexhaustible; and the Banwaons' interest in the economic benefits of logging. There were subsequent barricades and attacks on logging personnel by some Banwaon men, but these were attempts to force companies to recognize their claims to payments, rather than acts of opposition to logging as such.

Other logging companies followed. By the 1970s, the area was subdivided into concession-areas of different firms, dotted with logging camps linked by gravel roads used by trucks and tractors. Logs were trucked by the companies down to the town-center, then dumped into the Agusan River to be floated north to Butuan City, from where they were either exported or sawn into lumber. This was the logging boom, when most Banwaon men worked in the logging industry as negotiators, guides, sawyers, guards, surveyors, or road-workers. Today, those who witnessed this era recall it with happy, sometimes wistful nostalgia, as a time of great opportunity, excitement, and prosperity (compare Hilario 2004: 142-144; Gatmaytan 2005: 72).

By the 1980s, however, opposition to the dictatorship of then President Ferdinand Marcos was growing, and San Luis and other towns in the province saw the rise of the New People's Army (NPA), which waged a guerilla campaign against the government. In response, Marcos deployed army troops in the area, supported by paramilitary Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) units. The clashes, abuses, and displacements that followed (Gatmaytan 2013: 153 et seq.) eventually forced the departure of all logging companies from San Luis.

The demand for timber remained however, and the Banwaon gradually met this demand by going into logging for themselves. These small-scale operations typically involved individuals or small groups of men, usually kin, friends, or neighbors, who felled trees with axes and floated the logs downriver to sell them to local buyers. This contrasts with carabao logging in the Sierra Madres, where loggers reportedly would not fell trees unless they had an order for timber from a buyer (Van den Top 2003: 97-98). Output ranged from as few as four or five logs, and rarely exceeded a hundred logs. These operations seldom went beyond a single cutting cycle, with the men dividing the proceeds among themselves before returning to their hinterland farms. They would not engage in further logging until the need for some commodity or service again compelled them to earn money with which to secure it. From the 1980s to the early 2000s, this was how the Banwaon practiced small-scale logging. I encountered such operations during my fieldwork, though I noted that they increasingly hired chainsaw operators to increase log production. This mode of logging however was clearly overshadowed by the capitalized form of small-scale logging I describe next.

Transaksyon Logging

Seeking to fill the continuing demand for timber through the 1990s, financiers based in Butuan City began supplying capital through a network of middle-men to finance logging operations in the hinterlands (compare Van der Ploeg et al. 2011: 206-207; Van den Top 2003: 99). By the mid-2000s, this capitalized form of small-scale logging was dominant in San Luis. These operations had larger outputs (from a hundred to more than a thousand logs in a single cutting cycle) and were sustained over as many cutting cycles as funds and available timber allowed. Most Banwaon men were engaged directly or

indirectly in these operations. Thus, in Nakadayas village, all sixteen of the operators there were Banwaon with capitalized logging operations. In Tabontabon, the Banwaon village with the least number of loggers, two of the three Banwaon men engaged in logging had capitalized operations.

These capitalized operations were sometimes described as “*logging-logging*” (roughly, “*pseudo-logging*”), in implied comparison with the industrial-scale, mechanized operations of the logging boom. More often, they were called *transaksyon*, a term derived from the English “*transaction*” reflecting the contractual relations between a financier or dealer who provides capital and a logging operator who manages the funds, supervises operations, and delivers the logs. The relationship between financier and operator was not between equals, however. The operator was called the *sakop* (underling) of the financier or dealer, whom they referred to by the feudal term “*amo*” (master). The previous, non-capitalized mode of logging was now called “*kaugalingon*” (“on one’s own”; i.e., without a financier’s backing) or “*personal*” (logging for one’s self rather than for an operator or financier).

All financiers or dealers in San Luis were non-Banwaon men, mostly from the town-center; the vast majority of operators were Banwaon, some of them female. Most Banwaon participated in *transaksyon*-logging as logging workers in an operator’s crew. The majority of these workers were men, but it was not unusual for women, or minors of either sex, to join crews. They were paid PhP 150.00-200.00 for each day of work, *libre* (free meals provided by the operator) and, at the end of the operation, fare-money for the trip home. Logging thus compares favorably with agricultural labor (*hurnal*), for which there is only intermittent demand, paying PhP 100.00-150.00 a day for one to three days of work. Although loggers’ wages were supposedly *inadlaw* or daily, workers sometimes were not paid until the end of a cutting-cycle. However, operators did give their workers an advance on their wages, which the

latter left with their families for their needs while the workers worked in a contractor's logging camp, sometimes for weeks or months at a time. Some workers agree to be paid "in logs." Thus, in addition to working for an operator, s/he also cut his/her own "*personal*" logs on the side, which usually were also sold to the operator's amo.

Logging operations began by sending out survey teams into the forest to locate harvestable stands of *lawaan* trees. "Harvestable" here means *lawa-an* or *lauan* hardwood trees (cf. Howard 1948) with a *kara* or diameter of *thirty-up* or *treyntahon* (i.e., 30 cm.) or more. When a suitable stand was found, the operator negotiated for access to the trees with the owner of the *sektor* or landholding where the timber was located. To note, land and resource tenure rules here are based on family or individual ownership, rather than the "community" or "communal" ownership generally associated with indigenous peoples in the Philippines (Gatmaytan 2013: 99-100; 2005: 80 et seq.). These negotiations were public meetings, attended by the *sektor*-owner's kin and neighbors, who may wish to get in on the deal, or ensure that their own *sektor* was not infringed. The operator bore the costs of negotiations. If consent was secured, the verbal agreement between operator and *sektor*-owner specified the latter's compensation, the area covered by the agreement, and the size of the trees that could be felled. Such agreements were understood as sales by a *sektor*-owner of standing timber to the operator. *Sektor*-owners were compensated in one of two ways: They may be paid on a *kinubiko* basis; i.e., on the basis of how many cubic meters of wood were cut by the operator, at the rate of PhP 20.00 per cubic meter. Most *sektor*-owners found this bothersome, as it required them to monitor logging operations. Owners generally preferred payment in the second, simpler *pakyaw* basis; a lump-sum payment based on an estimate of the number of harvestable trees in the target area. The largest payment received for a stand of timber was PhP 100,000.00, which was very atypical. At the lower end of the range, I have

reliable reports of timber stands sold for less than PhP 5,000.00. I also noted a later trend towards *baylo* or trade, where standing timber was exchanged for a motorcycle, chainsaw, or buffalo, alone or in combination with a cash payment.

Once agreement was reached, a “logging ritual” was arranged to “open” operations. Again, the operator shouldered the costs, including the purchase of offerings and the ritualist’s ‘fee’ (*pandingding*). The ritual is addressed to the *tumanod* or spirit-owner of the area targeted for logging (compare with Garvan 1929: 197-198), who it is believed resides in one of the larger trees there. The spirit is asked to move outside the target area and relinquish ownership of the local trees, thereby “desacralizing” them. In exchange, a pig is sacrificed to the spirit. When I noted the disparity in value between the tree vacated by the spirit (which could exceed PhP 1 million) and the pig it received in exchange (PhP 800.00-1,500.00), Banwaon respondents explained that spirits do not see the ritual as a sale where value is traded for equivalent value, but as an exchange of appropriate, respectful actions. If so, this ritual may be “the exchange that ends all further exchanges” (following Taussig 1980, cited in Dove 1996: 51) between the *sektor*-owner and the displaced spirit, as the forest (the material basis of their relationship) will thereafter be felled, and will only recover in 30 years, if at all.

Actual operations can then begin. Most operators did not have their own chainsaws, but relied on contractual chainsaw “operators” (or *gabasero*). The sawyers are set to work as soon as possible, to minimize their days in the camp, as they are paid PhP 700.00 a day and *libre*, more than ordinary workers. After felling each tree, the sawyer cuts it into three-meter long segments called *putol* or *tampod*, a length dictated by the size of the machinery for cutting logs into veneer or plywood. Meanwhile, the logging workers search for suitable trees and mark them, clear the area around them, and build wooden scaffolding against their base as a platform for the sawyer. They also strip

the bark from each *putol* to delay the onset of rot, and clear a path between the logs and the *landinganan*.

The *landinganan* (etymology unclear) was where logs were “landed” or stockpiled, usually on the banks or in the waters of a stream near the cutting area. Ideally, the felled trees were on the slopes above the stream, allowing the *putol* to be rolled down into the water by pairs of workers using wooden poles as levers. In some areas, however, buffalo drivers have to be hired to haul logs from the cutting area to the *landinganan*. This meant additional costs, at PhP 500.00-600.00 per buffalo per day, as well as the wages of the driver/s and their assistants. During my fieldwork, the demand for buffaloes was so strong it stimulated trade with breeders or traders across the Pantaron range, in neighboring Bukidnon province; and a rise in cases of buffalo rustling. At the *landinganan*, each log was given a “*log-mark*.” This usually consisted of a person’s initials, cut into the log’s surface with a machete. The practice was to mark each log first with the *log-mark* of the financier or dealer; followed by an ‘x’; then the *log-mark* of the operator. Logging workers with *personal* logs will place another ‘x’ after the operator’s *log-mark*, followed by their own. *Log-marks* thus annotate the various actors’ claims on each log (a literal inscription of the hierarchical relations of production on the logs), marking their commodity status.

When sufficient logs have been accumulated, they are ready for “release,” the movement of logs from the *landinganan* to the bridge over the Laminga River, where they would be transferred to the financier or buyer. For this, most operators relied on the frequent local rainstorms and resulting flash floods to carry the stockpiled logs down through the network of streams forming the Laminga watershed to Laminga Bridge. A few operators with better financing used an alternative form of release, called “*damming*.” Here, the crew built a series of collapsible timber-and-tarpaulin dams along the creek serving as *landinganan*, with the logs stockpiled in the reservoirs of each

dam. At release, the dams were collapsed one by one, beginning with the one furthest upstream, creating an artificial flash flood to carry the logs to Laminga Bridge. To my knowledge, *damming* has not resulted in any death or injury, as the operator concerned ensures that the downstream path of the logs is clear, though there was a report of patrolling soldiers almost being washed away. In any case, a few logs may be lost during release to stranding on banks or against creek-side vegetation, destruction (the force of a flashflood can break a log), and (in the approach to Laminga Bridge) theft by “jumpers” (*mangambak*). Operators anticipate such losses and compensate by producing as many logs as possible. Another hazard is the “*washout*,” a flash flood that carries away logs from the *landinganan* before they have received *logmarks*. People downstream can then salvage these unmarked logs and sell them to local buyers, spelling financial loss to the operator.

Immediately after release, the operator calls up motorcycle-drivers from San Luis town-centre to fetch the crew and bring them quickly down the mountain to Laminga Bridge. There, they await the arrival of their logs, alongside other operators and crews from other parts of the Laminga River watershed who have also “released” their logs.

The Bridge

Laminga Bridge is a simple steel structure set twenty feet over the river. Under the bridge is a boom, a cable with log floaters stretched across the surface of the water, to prevent logs from floating past. Beside this bridge, on its upriver side, is the old wooden bridge it replaced.

On 29 August 2009, the waters of the Laminga River upstream from the bridge were choked with logs. A few men, women and children wandered among the jumbled timber, looking for logs with their *amo*’s log-mark. In the turbid water,

some thirty men and boys pushed and pulled together their respective *amos'* logs. On the wooden bridge (looking down on the workers) financiers and operators shouted and gestured to their crews, supervising the location and regrouping of their logs. On the downriver side of the bridge, logs were bound side by side with cables and spikes to form long trains of logs, like belts of ammunition for the fight for profit. Further downriver, engine-driven "pump-boats" were moored to one side of the river. Each buyer or financier expecting delivery of one or more trains of logs will have contracted enough boats to tow them. When I began taking photographs, Datu Sapat (DS), a respected Banwaon leader, appeared beside me in his ceremonial finery; beaded head-cloth, sunglasses, embroidered jacket, beadwork necklace, and government I.D. card.

AG: [I did not know] you were here, Datu! ('Na-a di-ay ka diri, Datu!')

DS: I did not go logging in the past, but now I have a college [student]. Farming is no help. I have [stands of] palkata trees—three lots—but they are not ready for harvest yet. I have [a stand of] abaka, but it is not ready to be worked yet. (Pause.) There are some very nervous people over there (He points to the opposite bank.), saying [about you], 'Maybe he's [from the government]!' But I explained things to them.

I registered first, his defensiveness over his association with logging; next, his justification for the same, citing his daughter's education and the limits of *palkata* (*Albizia falcataria*, an exotic softwood planted and harvested for its timber) and *abaka* (*Musa textilis*, a plant grown for fiber) cultivation; and finally, the warning against taking pictures. My photographic ambitions frustrated, I settled for a conversation with Datu Sapat about the logging trade. He voiced a common complaint about the low prices for logs. At Laminga Bridge, prices depended on the *kara* or diameter of the logs. A log that is 30-up in diameter

sells for PhP 1,400.00 per cubic meter; a *40-up* log, PhP 1,800.00; a *50-up* log, PhP 2,500.00, and so on. To determine how many cubic meters of wood a log had, it was “scaled” or measured by a tax assessor from the local government of San Luis. As each operator regrouped his/her logs, the assessor scaled them and computed the *buhis* or tax due, which was PhP 50.00 per cubic meter. This “tax” was allegedly the local government’s “share” in the illegal logging operations conducted within its boundaries. Months later, tax assessment was simplified by imposing a flat fee of PhP 15,000.00 for each operator or financier, irrespective of the actual number of logs or volume of timber involved.

The financier or buyer paid this “tax.” When the tax on a batch of logs was paid, the boom was released to let these logs pass under the bridge to the downriver side. Other operators and workers watched carefully, to ensure that their own logs did not float away as well. Fights over logs did occur, and some workers armed themselves for this eventuality. The scaling, assessment, and payment is repeated for each batch of each operator’s logs until all the timber was processed. When there are many logs, this can take up to three days, with workers sleeping in shifts to guard their logs. After settling the tax, the financier pays the operator the assessed value of all logs delivered, less the amount advanced as operating capital. This is when the various claims to the logs are liquidated; hereafter the logs are the sole property of the financier or dealer (following Kopytoff 1986: 83). If the assessed value is less than the amount advanced by the financier, the operator was “*O.D.*” (“over-drawn”); the operator becomes indebted to the financier, and sometimes, to his/her crew as well. Afterwards, the operator and her/his crew might return to their camp for another cutting cycle, or seek a new timber-stand, to increase profits or recoup losses.

Meanwhile, the financier or buyer has the logs towed to San Luis town-center, to await further deliveries of logs; or to Butuan City. There, a cubic meter of logs *50-up* in diameter

would sell for PhP 6,000.00, a markup of 140 % over the price at Laminga Bridge. Most operators and workers knew that while they bore the hardships and risks of logging (see Laarman et al. 1981: 69-70), most of the profits go to the dealers or financiers. Many workers commented that while dealers in San Luis could now purchase SUVs, they themselves could barely afford the fare for local transportation. For their part, operators have at least twice tried to pool their resources, tow their combined logs to Butuan City, and sell them at the higher prices there, but they were unsuccessful. I remarked on the inequities and difficulties of logging, asking Datu Sapat why the Banwaon engage in it at all. He answered: '*Wa' namay la-in.*' (There is no other [choice].)

From "Salt" to "Students"

This description of *transaksyon*-type logging emphasizes how capitalization imposes on the operator and her/his crew the necessity of making a profit and describes how that profit was made. The difficulties and consequences of small-scale logging suggest that the Banwaons' reason for engaging in it must be worth such risks to them.

This focus on profits differed from the older type of small-scale logging, which was generally orientated towards making money for purchasing necessities. Logging of this sort may even operate at a loss, in that the money received for the logs was less than the actual value of the logs and the labor invested in producing them. As one logger said, '[*It was*] almost like giving away [*our logs*] (*Halos gipanghatag ra.*). People occasionally engaged in logging nevertheless because they needed to make money; to make a profit, in a sense, was incidental. Before the advent of *transaksyon*-logging, most Banwaon respondents answered the question of why they engaged in logging with "*pang-asin*" or "for salt"; i.e., they needed to earn money for purchasing salt.

Salt is a commodity that the Banwaon, in a mountainous hinterland a hundred kilometers from the coast, cannot produce, but must trade for. Interestingly, the term *pang-asin* was extended to include other needed commodities, such as soap, matches, coffee, and school supplies for their children. This emphasis on necessities reflects the assumption that the Banwaon logger was engaged in largely self-sufficient agriculture; logging only supplemented farming by providing a means to earn money for buying what the Banwaon cannot produce. This is entirely consistent with comparative ethnographic data from other hinterland groups in Mindanao, such as the pre-war Subanun (Christie 1909: 42) and Higaunon (Cole 1956: 84), and the post-war Subanun (Frake 1955: 62) and Tiruray (Schlegel 1979: 106, 108, 110). In all these cases, indigenous communities needed a way to make money for purchasing goods from beyond the village. *Pang-asin* therefore invokes economic necessity for basic goods and local unavailability of the same to explain engagement in logging.

In contrast, *transaksyon*-type logging requires an operator to deliver enough logs to enable her/him to repay the capital advanced by the financier, make enough money besides to pay the crew's wages, and finally, produce a profit for him/herself. Operators cannot operate at a loss; they must make a profit, not just money. This explains the operators' and workers' protectiveness over their logs: Inscribing *log-marks*; rushing down the mountain upon release, to minimize the time their logs are out of sight; guarding their stock and, if necessary, fighting for them. There was also a shift in the way logging was justified. Instead of "*pang-asin*," loggers said "*na'y akong estudyante*" ("I have a student [to put through school]"), as we saw in my exchange with Datu Sapat. They now point to the very person of the student and the school fees, board, and lodging (especially for college-level students, who study in distant towns or cities), and the required books and other needs. There is still that element of necessity, but there is a shift from satisfying short-term

consumption needs to the long-term investment in education, which requires a sustained flow of funds over the many years of study. Almost all the logging operators and workers I know had children or other kin in school, and all expressed a desire to see them graduate.

Of course, the money from illegal logging (which is not “easy money”) would not all go to the children’s education. The Banwaon are only human, and appreciate (cheap) alcohol, prized foodstuffs, and second-hand clothes (*ukay-ukay*). However, there is none of the pay-day drinking-and-whoring binges sometimes associated with frontier livelihoods. Such binges could more feasibly be pursued in distant Butuan City, but most Banwaon did not venture that far in their engagement with logging. There were limited opportunities for indulging vices in the remote villages, or even in San Luis town-center; and the small-town setting made it easy to detect and censure any such behavior. While I cannot claim that all the proceeds from logging did go into education (what the Banwaon did with their money certainly deserves further study [following Bernstein 2010: 22]), I can say that most of them were earnest in their expressed appreciation of education. Throughout my fieldwork, education was an abiding concern for parents and leaders; having students or graduates accorded status; and school-attendance at all levels was high. Indeed, that was the first time in Banwaon history that so many of their youth were in secondary and tertiary education at the same time, an indication of the widened availability of money.

Datu Sapat went on to note the limitations of the Banwaons’ other economic options. Aside from small-scale logging, the main alternatives for making money then were *raha* or woodcutting, *palkata* cultivation, and farm labor. The first two provide low returns compared to logging, even with its attendant risks and uncertainties. More particularly for *raha*, the stock of tree species suitable for woodcutting was nearing exhaustion. On the other hand, *palkata* trees are harvestable only

after four or five years, and as one man said, “*we cannot eat only every five years.*” Still, some Banwaon maintain *palkata* stands as a supplementary source of income. As for farm labor, the demand is irregular and wages lower. Rattan-cutting used to be widespread in the area, but is no longer viable due to over-exploitation. Finally, there is farming, traditionally centered on rice-cultivation in swidden farms. Swidden rice-production is generally low, with stocks rarely lasting two or three months after harvest. On the other hand, the lack of capital and infrastructure, the rough terrain and red, clayey soils discourage investment into paddy farming. Finally, the Banwaon adhere to a deeply rooted taboo (*pamalih*) against selling rice, seen as a gift from the spirits. As a result, rice farming cannot become a means of earning money.

In sum, the Banwaon now explain their participation in logging by citing the need to put children through school, in a context where they see no viable alternative economic strategies (Damas 2011; Mascarinas 2012d). For this reason, Banwaon society allowed and took advantage of the spread of *transaksyon* operations. While the financiers in San Luis could be seen as a local elite controlling the trade (compare Aquino 2004: 262), the Banwaon welcomed operations for the opportunities it provided to men, women and children, the young and old, to earn money as operators, workers, sawyers, drivers, ritualists or in some other capacity. For them, realizing their aspirations demanded involvement in logging; as most of my respondents asserted, “*there is no other choice.*”

Banwaon Imagined Futures

Even as we acknowledge the element of *compulsion* the Banwaon cite to explain their complicity in illegal logging, we cannot ignore how *desire* is also part of the equation. If we take them at their word, the Banwaon are “forced” into logging not

by hunger or poverty as such, but by their wish to ensure their children's education. The question then is why they feel this need so strongly that they would knowingly risk its costs or consequences (discussed below). Here I consider the Banwaons' imagined futures and education's place in these aspirations.

This valorization of education is relatively new. Several versions of the *Ulaging* epic, which the Banwaon share with other northern Mindanao indigenous groups, describe the protagonists' flight from compulsory education (Maquiso 1977: 57). In one version, an epic hero even beats a succession of school teachers to death with a wooden rice-pestle (Maquiso 1977: 86). Today however, indigenous groups value education highly (c.f. Trinidad 2012), and the Banwaon are no exception. As my informant Concha Ambason put it:

Once, there were parents who would say, 'it does not matter if there is no school in our village, we will survive still.' This can no longer be today. The world goes turning on.

For most Banwaon, the hope is that education will help position their children competitively in the labor market, ideally as a *propesyonal* (college-graduate), so they can secure jobs in San Luis town-center or beyond, and help support the family (compare Trinidad 2012: 162, 168-169). I noted that eight of the ten college-level students were taking "Internet Technology" (IT) courses, which set them on trajectories away from their hinterland homes, where there were no computers, no internet infrastructure, nor even electricity. There is thus an element of aspiration at play, a desire to transcend the family's current economic status or situation. Most parents are aware of the difficulties in securing jobs, however, and will settle for their children landing jobs that pay small but steady wages.

For a smaller group of leaders and activists linked to Tagdumahan, the inter-village association, education is a means of protecting their people's rights. This view derives partly

from knowledge or experiences of land grabbing cases, and from previous confrontations with mining firms and palm-oil plantations threatening to enter the area, both of which highlighted the value of education. The hope here is that students will choose courses with a “developmental” character (e.g., agricultural sciences, education, midwifery or nursing) and put their learning at the service of their people. With the help of an educated youth, the Banwaon can speak for themselves, rather than rely on local politicians, civil society groups, or the media. In this way, education is part of the people’s quest to protect their ancestral territory and assert their rights to self-determination. This helps explain why some Banwaon leaders or activists were involved in illicit logging, some as operators.

The choice of IT courses by many Banwaon college-level students does not easily lend itself to these leaders’ aspirations. Community leaders acknowledge the tension between these two imagined futures. One of them commented:

Money will be all that people see, no longer the community. See how the land has become divided because of logging. There is no more concern for others; there is only concern for one’s own [survival]. I am especially worried for our students. I fear they may no longer understand the importance of being a people, whom they who are educated should serve. We hope that those who have studied will help the people, but it seems they are concerned only with personal employment.

While the Banwaons’ contrasting visions of local development share an appreciation of education, the first vision is more traditional, focused on the family and its survival or growth. However, it also challenges the second vision, where Banwaon leaders seek to transcend family and village, and unify the people through community organizing and institution building. It is these visions of development, embodied by the *estudyante* (dutiful child in the first case, community-organizer in the second) that have pulled the Banwaon people into illegal

logging. The tragedy is that the Banwaon are compelled to sacrifice their forest in order to enjoy what many people take for granted: Education, an end that is in itself noble, and indeed, transcendently human.

I suggest that the shift from one mode of small-scale logging to another represents underlying changes in the economic orientation of the Banwaon. *Pang-asin* logging reflected a local economy that was largely self-sufficient, where logging was only an occasional activity needed to produce money for buying salt and other necessities. *Transaksyon*-logging, however, reflected a local economy more thoroughly enmeshed with the larger economic system. On the one hand is the continuing demand for timber, perhaps linked to China's growing regional economic impact (Nevins and Peluso 2008: 227; Barney 2008: 104-105), which urban-based financiers sought to fill by offering capital for small scale logging in the hinterlands. This opportunity presented itself in a context where there seemed to the Banwaon to be no other viable economic means of pursuing their visions of prosperity. These visions in turn may have been shaped by a desire to participate in the economic prosperity lately enjoyed by the rest of the Philippines. My material thus shows that, though geographically remote, the Banwaon are not economically or culturally isolated (following Tsing 1993).

The Environmental Costs of Logging

While *transaksyon* logging is small in scale compared with corporate logging, the large number of such intensive operations undertaken simultaneously in different sites across the Laminga River watershed (in tandem with the *kaugalingon* or *pang-asin* operations there) translates to massive deforestation. Add to the Laminga River logging operations those in the Umayam, Libang, Adgawan and Maasam River watersheds,

and one can get a sense of the scale of illegal logging in Agusan del Sur province during my fieldwork.

This reduction of forest cover spells habitat destruction, biodiversity loss, declining animal and plant populations, soil erosion, increased water turbidity, and other impacts that other studies have documented (e.g., Sajise and Tapay 1996: 78 et seq.). *Transaksyon* logging however may have impacts peculiar to it: The loggers' reliance on waterways instead of roads meant they could reach areas where logging companies could not build roads. Where logging companies might bypass smaller or less-rich forest stands because operational costs would outweigh any profit from such stands, *transaksyon*-operators were not similarly constrained. More, the rough-and-ready character of logging operations sometimes resulted in the destruction of smaller trees or saplings in the cutting area. Finally, the effect of the release should be considered. I was able to survey a creek shortly after a *damming* operation, and found that the creek bed had been scraped down to the bedrock by the force of the water and its load of logs, and there were no fish or other aquatic life left in the waters. But even where *damming* is not employed, the impact of so many onrushing logs on the banks and beds of streams (especially those that receive the waters from two or more tributaries used as *landinganan*) should be similar, given that otherwise normal flashfloods are made to carry an artificially increased load of debris, in the form of logs.

The Banwaon were aware of these effects on the environment. However, their attitude towards the environment was more "pragmatic." As a Banwaon woman in Balit village often lectured the children in her village:

If today, [when] we still have forests [to log], we are already in [an economic] crisis, what more when the forests are gone?
You [children] must study hard, so you will no longer have to rely on logging.

Her words (often quoted approvingly by neighbors) reflect a view of the forest as a resource they have to rely on now, but which they later hope to lose dependence on. In a sense, the Banwaon are gambling that, by the time they exhaust their timber, their children will have finished schooling and secured jobs, so they will not have to rely on the forest anymore.

Two things should be noted. First, this suggests that the Banwaon attitude towards the forest is not particularly environmental but more economicistic, seeing it as an asset to use rather than something to protect or preserve. This argues against any sweeping ascription of environmentalism to indigenous peoples, even such as the Banwaon, who retain much of their indigenous culture manifest in their political and legal autonomy, indigenous religion and rituals, social relations and values, traditional agricultural and hunting knowledge, language and folklore. Second, the odds on the Banwaons' "gamble" are rather poor. In the short term, small-scale logging did bring a small but steady flow of needed cash to impoverished families. However, while the loss of the forest is certain, the gains are less so; the students' aptitude, the quality of education gained, the conditions of the labor market, and the fortunes of families themselves are variables that are difficult to control, but have great bearing on the success of the "gamble." As of this writing, the Banwaon students in tertiary education should have graduated and found jobs, but as I suggest in the postscript below, the Banwaon of Balit village continued to rely on their dwindling forest resources for their economic survival. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Banwaon lost the bet.

The Cultural Consequences of Logging

The Religious of the Good Shepherd (RGS), a missionary order of nuns who have worked among the Banwaon for more than twenty-five years, was troubled by the Banwaon involve-

ment in an environmentally destructive trade. In a meeting in Tabontabon village, one nun challenged the Tagdumahan (the inter-village association supposed to protect the interests of the Banwaon) to clarify its stand on logging. The association's leaders turned defensive and asked the delegates of its member-villages to speak out. *All* the delegates, most of them respected elders and leaders, declared that logging must continue, many invoking the children's education as justification. The Chair of the Tagdumahan then said that any attempt on its part to stop small-scale logging would only turn the Banwaon people against them. The organization thus settled for negotiating with financiers on behalf of Banwaon *sektor*-owners, requiring the operator to cut only trees *50-up* in size, and to pay for any smaller trees destroyed during operations. He insisted, however, that farming remained their *prinsipal* (primary) economic activity, and logging was only *segundaryo* (secondary). To note, most logging workers spent weeks or even months in logging camps, abandoning swidden-farming altogether or leaving this to their wives and children. To address the apparent neglect of farming, the Tagdumahan would henceforth require its members to farm for four months every year.

I was struck by how the Tagdumahan's Chair insisted that the Banwaon were farmers and not loggers, drawing a distinction between *prinsipal* and *segundaryo* economic activities. But how can farming be considered their principal economic activity if logging so monopolized Banwaon workers' time and labor, that they have to be told to spend some time farming? To me, such contradictions indicate a certain anxiety about the Banwaons' engagement in logging.

This anxiety manifested in other ways: The Chair of the Tagdumahan, immediately after the meeting described, told me he was "shamed" (*naulawan*) by the organization's involvement in logging. We have already seen Datu Sapat's defensive response when I expressed surprise at his presence at Laminga Bridge. Then there was the case of a Banwaon logging crew in

Tabontabon village. Whenever the workers trekked into the forest in the morning or returned at sunset, the local school-teacher (who was critical of logging) had her pupils sing the “anti-logging” song. This was a round-song, set to the tune of “*When You’re Happy and You Know It*,” the last line of which went: “*The logger died/ because his house was destroyed/ because the earth gave way/ because the river flooded/ because he cut the tree/ on the top of the mountain.*” The workers complained that the song “hurt” them, and pleaded futilely with the teacher to desist. I also talked to the Banwaon census taker who conducted the government’s 2008 household census among the hinterland villages of San Luis. She reported that all her respondents described themselves solely as “farmers,” though everyone knew that, as a Banwaon herself, she was aware of their reliance on logging. Finally, this anxiety was expressed explicitly, by Inya Mabalaw (IM), whom I (AG) met at a ritual where the Banwaon celebrants implored the spirits to protect their kin engaged in logging, and ensure that there would be no “*washout*” of their logs.

IM: The people have been himalakan!

AG: What is “himalakan,” mother?

IM: That dancer who wears only panties on T.V. The people of the land have been himalakan. There they are, watching T.V. The TV is all they see now.

AG: Is “himalakan” like violating the “olag”? (q.v. below)

IM: Nothing is against the olag anymore, for everything now is paper. The people have left behind sky, earth and water. There they are with paper, with electricity, there the people are on concrete. They have forgotten their ritual obligations, they have abandoned their duties [to the spirits]. Great changes have happened. That is why the spirits have gone from us. The datu now are amidst these changes. They do not understand what is happening anymore. They themselves have cast off

culture. The people themselves have cast off culture. Now we are like a puddle, without source or destination, sitting in the stink.

Inya Mabalaw describes her people as *himalakan* or seduced by change, symbolized by the scantily clad dancer on a popular noontime television show, and the images of law and bureaucracy (“paper”), electricity, and appliances. This has driven off the spirits (a frequent explanation for hardship and poverty [Atkinson 1989: 44]) and alienated them from their own culture. Her final image thus portrays the Banwaon as a stagnant pool of water, cut off from its source, without movement or life, in implicit contrast with a river that flows from a spring and runs unceasingly, yet is never exhausted. This exposition points to the deeper values that shape Banwaon identity and culture.

One such value is the notion of *olag*, the idea that one must live life in the manner of one’s ancestor. One characteristic imputed to the ancestors’ way of life was its refusal of quantification: Just as the *tumanod* spirit will not measure the value of a pig against that of his/her dwelling, so the Banwaon must abjure counting or measuring, and give and receive without calculation. This should make, among other things, the accounting of profit and loss in logging morally suspect. But as Inya Mabalaw observed, “*Nothing is against olag anymore*” (i.e., the Banwaon no longer live like their ancestors). I read this as a reflection of cultural tensions arising from how capital transformed the local practice of logging, supplanting the traditional centrality of farming and its rituals in Banwaon life, insinuating their violation of the *olag*, and threatening their self-image as farmers. Thus, even as the Banwaon pursue their visions of development through education (and therefore, through logging), anxiety over its consequences emerge.

Complexities

Could this anxiety simply be a reflection of the Banwaons' awareness that their logging operations are illegal? If we were to draw a "legal geography" of small-scale logging in the region, mapping the notions of licit and illicit economic activities across space, we should again consider Laminga Bridge. Here, where road and river cross, lowland financiers encounter hinterland workers, and exchange urban-sourced moneys for forest commodities. Here, the illegality of the trade was acknowledged, marked by Datu Sapat's warning that my photography made the dealers present "nervous." From the bridge downriver to Butuan City, the logs "become" contraband commodities, subject to state laws, and to "collusive corruption" (Smith et al. 2003: 294, also 2007) in the form of "creative" taxation by corrupt government personnel. We have already noted the San Luis local government's "cut" from illegal logging operations. Other agencies (and according to rumors, even the Catholic Diocese of Butuan as well) similarly "taxed" the logs as they were floated from San Luis, past their respective checkpoints along the Agusan River to Butuan City. These reportedly included the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR); the local government, military and police units in the municipalities along the route; among others (Mascarinas 2012b, 2012e, 2012f). I did plan to trace the commodity chain from Laminga Bridge to Butuan City and perhaps beyond, documenting transactions along the way, but given the stakes for any government personnel involved, this was a sensitive, potentially dangerous inquiry I was dissuaded from pursuing by my thesis advisers. Anyhow, these "taxes" were mainly the problem of the buyer or financier transporting the logs from Laminga Bridge to Butuan City, and not the Banwaon operators or workers, whose interests in the logs were liquidated at the bridge.

On the other hand, from the bridge upriver to the Banwaon highlands, there was no sense that logging was illegal (compare Wadley and Eilenberg 2005: 30). Banwaons spoke very openly of their involvement in logging, which was an important aspect of their everyday life. If I took a photograph of stockpiled logs, the loggers would even ask to be included in the picture. In a very real sense, the Banwaon exercise legal autonomy, in that their view of timber as their property enjoys local primacy over the state's resource laws. The Banwaon thus had no doubt about their right to own standing timber and to fell and sell it if they wished; the question was whether they should. Their predicament and their resulting anxiety is thus moral, not legal.

The issue of Banwaon complicity in small-scale logging is thus very complex and cannot be dismissed as a matter of "simple greed" (Wallace 2006). To my mind at least, "greed" cannot account for the sense of moral anguish outlined in the previous section.

It is also complex in that even as the lack of alternative livelihoods does force the Banwaon to pursue their aspirations through logging, such aspirations represent desire rather than compulsion. In contrast to the Indonesian case (following Tsing 2005), the Banwaon were not simply making the best of a situation beyond their control, but were actively pursuing their dreams of development, at that moment when capital from external sources became available. Timber is an old commodity (Gellert 2008: 43), but here was a new way of producing this old commodity: *Transaksyon* logging bypassed the state, but not the local government, which enjoyed a cut in the illegal logging operations, in the form of the taxes collected at Laminga Bridge. It combined urban capital with hinterland labor and knowledges (of spirits and rituals, local residents and tenure rules, lay-of-land and bush-craft) in the form of an outlaw enterprise. Capitalized logging certainly shaped local economic and social life, but I argue that the Banwaon and their culture also shaped the practice of logging. To note, there was nothing

in law to compel financiers and dealers to accept the Banwaon *sektor*-owners' claim of ownership over lands and timber, but they recognized such claims when they allowed their capital to be used in purchasing standing timber. In the same way, dealers did not have to sponsor the "logging ritual," but still did so. The Banwaon capacity to command compliance with these "threshold" processes (without which operations could not proceed) underscores their agency, allowing them to carve out a space for themselves and their values within the regional logging industry. Small scale logging as described here testifies to the opportunistic audacity and adaptability of capital, but also to an indigenous peoples' agency in successfully asserting their land- and resource-ownership during the corporate-driven logging boom of the 1970s (Gatmaytan 2013: 99-100) and the *transaksyon* logging of the 2000s.

Conclusion

Tsing's notion of "friction" (2005: 5) asks us to consider how a wider regional economic system finds purchase in the local. Such a perspective however tends to imply passivity on the part of the local in the face of the regional. The case of the Banwaon illustrates how the local, for its part, can actively seek purchase within the regional system. There is thus a "conjunction" (following Li 2014) of desires here, for profit on the part of Butuan City capitalists and for education on the part of the Banwaon, intersecting in the widespread and intensive practice of illegal small-scale logging. Education is central to the Banwaons' visions of development, which they pursue in a context that (in their eyes) offers no viable economic alternatives. Through this inflection on Tsing's approach, this paper recognizes local agency, but also shows how this agency was exercised through an environmentally destructive trade observers may consider part of the "shadow economy" (Schoofs and Lara 2016: 18, 20).

This, in turn, highlights the risks of assuming that indigenous peoples (even such as the Banwaon, who retain much of their indigenous culture) are somehow predisposed towards environmentalism.

The seeming puzzle posed by the image of the walking, talking chainsaw, of an indigenous community engaged in an illicit and ecologically risky livelihood, is thus resolved by acknowledging their full humanity, as it were, with all the messiness, all the contradictions, uncertainties, changes, and tensions that this implies (following Li 2014: 18). This means recognizing, in the process, what is important to local communities (in this case, the escape from economic dependence on farms and forests that is at the heart of their dreams of development) and understanding the factors that shape their choices in their pursuit of prosperity. Acknowledging community-level realities this way is a necessary step for any meaningful conversation or collaboration on local development between indigenous peoples, public and private development practitioners, and the academic community.

Failure in this regard is precisely what has brought many indigenous communities in the Philippines to their current straits. After twenty years of implementation of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act or IPRA (Republic of the Philippines 1997), and millions of hectares of ancestral territories titled thereby, most beneficiary-communities remain impoverished, seemingly unable to leverage the tenurial security they gained over their lands and resources into meaningful development. This renders them susceptible to the offers of mining firms, oil palm plantations, and other actors the indigenous rights movement in the Philippines has historically been guarded towards (Rodil 2004: 48-50; Gaspar 2000: 30 et seq.). This may be a consequence of how the IPRA (and the indigenous rights movement that lobbied for its enactment) is too narrowly focused on the process of titling, while neglecting the urgent matter of local or community development (Gatmaytan 2007:

17-18, 22). Perhaps the authors of the IPRA simply assumed that indigenous communities always want to practice sustainable livelihoods (or would revert thereto once external threats were defeated by their Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title [CADT]) and hence there was no further need to talk about what they desire. The problems with current attempts to address the nexus of tenure, sustainability, and development in indigenous communities are not limited to the bureaucratic and political obstacles, the misapprehension of socio-economic realities at the community-level, or even the assumed link between tenure and sustainability (van der Ploeg et al. 2016: 154-156). These are all very real problems of course, but they are either contextual realities or ascriptions projected by outsiders onto local communities. What needs to be foregrounded is the shifting, sometimes disparate, oftentimes desperate voices of the members of these communities themselves, particularly the question of what they want to do or achieve, to have or enjoy.

While the Banwaon have not availed themselves of the IPRA's provisions on titling (Gatmaytan 2013: 141-142), their case foregrounds the centrality and urgency of the nature and significance of people's socio-economic aspirations, and what they may feel compelled to sacrifice in order to achieve those aspirations. We may then ask, what are the consequences of their decision to engage in an illegal and environmentally destructive trade in the long term? Can their community, with its weakened economic and environmental foundation, retain its political and cultural autonomy and integrity? Their situation thus also challenges scholars and development practitioners to address the question of the economic basis of the indigenous right to self-determination, whether articulated in terms of traditional self-governance, CADTs and their development plans, autonomous regions as defined by the Philippine Constitution, or the proposed federalization of the Philippine state.

Post-Script, 2017

On 3 June 2012, the mayor of Butuan City confiscated 2,000 illegally-cut *lawaan* logs floating on the Agusan River, just an hour from the city-center. He “expressed disbelief” at the volume of the timber, valued at PhP 2.4 million (Mascarinas 2012a). It was later discovered that there was a second layer of logs underneath those on the surface; there were actually 4,236 logs, raising their value to PhP 4 million (Mascarinas 2012c). A few days after the seizure, Manobo and Higaunon leaders came forward to claim the logs, one of them saying, “*we need the logs to send our children to school since it is the opening of classes.*” They asked that the logs be released, claiming 2,000 hinterland families would otherwise be affected (Mascarinas 2012d). Their call however found scant support in the regional and national capital or among environmentalists; the government enforced its 2011 logging ban (Exec. Order no. 23, dated 1 February 2011).

The case drew the attention of the then Secretary of the Department of Interior and Local Government. He ordered the investigation of regional DENR personnel, as well as the mayors and police chiefs of the towns from which these illicit logs originated, and through which they passed going downriver to Butuan City (Mascarinas 2012b, 2012e, 2012f). This was the beginning of the end of *transaksyon*-logging in San Luis and neighboring municipalities. With the state exerting authority over hitherto autonomous local governments and spaces, the window for such outlaw enterprises was closing. This has reduced the illicit logging in the area, although with serious economic repercussions for communities who saw logging as their most viable means of earning money.

In June 2017, I revisited Balit village, my primary field site, and discovered that the community had resorted to intensifying *raha* or firewood cutting, and the adoption of charcoal making as livelihood alternatives to *transaksyon*-logging. While comparatively less intensive than *transaksyon*-logging, these activities

still pose threats for the local forest cover and biodiversity. The situation reiterates Datu Sapat's description of the limited choices for development available for the Banwaon and perhaps for other indigenous peoples of the Philippines as well.

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